GENTLEMEN'S HATS-BIRD, No. 49 Nassau-st will introduce the various styles for Spring on MONDA March 2. They will be distinguished by the style and find that has himerto secured the library patronage of discriminative wearers. BIRD, No. 42 Nassau, near Maiden-lane.

SAWS -HOE & Co's PATENT GROUND SAWS Peastering Trowells, &c., can be bad, wholesale and retail, at the principal hardwayes over, at the salesrooms of the main-facturers, Nos. 29 and 31 Goldet, or at the works, owner of Broome, Sheiff and Columbia etc., N. Y.

L. O. WILSON & Co.

Are now prepared to offer to the trade their Spring stock of
Day Goods, which for extent and vasiety will be found une

qualed in this market.

No. 12 COURTLANDT-ST., No. 11 and 13 Deyet

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST-CHEAPEST ADVERTISING MEDICM IN THE U. S.— Weekly edition tween 60,000 and 70,000. So cents a line for first insertion; ditional insertions Scients. Address Deacon & Peterso No. 66 South 3d-st., Pailadelphia. THE SMITHSONIAN HOUSE,

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Dattry & Co.'s. Nos. 631 and 633 Broadway, and buy enough Guina and Glass to last you a year. You will never meet with a chance for bargains. Look at their advertisement in the Dry Goods column of tale paper.

We call attention to the peremptory Auction Sale of Real Estate, located in New York, Broodlyn and Williamsburgh, to be made This Day, March II, at 12 o'diock, at the Merchania's Exchange, by Albert H Nicolary. Anotioneer. The terms are liberal, titles indisputshie, and the property is to be sold to close a trust. For integraphic maps, tolks, and full particulars, we refer to the Auctio see, N. 4. Broad-st.

The Fashion of the season in Gentlemen's HATS was introduced by Grans on Saturday, the 7th mit. New York and the Union have for years accepted the quarterly issues of Grans as the coverning styles of the day, and his Spring Har for 1857, will be found to possess the inputs claims to the storistation of men of taste and judgment. Pice \$4.

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Everybody acknowledges that our prices for China, Grass, Gas Fixtures, Platen Ware, &c., are 20 per cent lower than that of any other house. N. B.—Sesour advertisements in the dry goods column of this paper.
W. J. F. Dalley & Co., No. 611 and 631 Broadway.

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The only Medial obtained from the AMERICAN INSTITUTE
Was by HIRAM ANDERSON for elegant TAPESTRIES.
Solid at No. 99 Bowery.

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Genoine Cod Livers Oil.,
by ten years' experience proved the purest and best in use and
most reliable remedy for Consumption. Prepared only by
HEGEMAN, CLASK & Co., No. 165, 273, 511 and 755 Broadway.
N. B. Sole at manufacturer's prices by all wholesale druggless.

SEWING MACHINES.—I. M. SINGER & Co.'S GA-BETTE, a beautiful Pictorial Paper, contains full and reliable in-formation about SEWING MACHINES, and answers all questions that can be asked on the subject; all who read this paper will learn how to purchase a SEWING MACHINE with which \$1,000 a year clear profit can be made, and will be protected from being imposed upon by any of the humbing machines now be-fore the public. I. M. SINGER & Co.'s GAZETTE will be sent stade to all who apair by letter or otherwise.

being imposed upon by any of the humbug machines how be fore the public. I. M. Stager & Co.'s Gazette will be set grade to all who apply by letter or otherwise.

I. M. Stager & Co., No. 523 Broadway, New York. REPAIR YOUR PIANOS. - Superior facilities have been provided by the subscribers for Repuitlog Pisno whereby an old instrument may often be nisle as good as new one, and that too at a very moderate expense J. F. WARNER & Co., No. 615 Broadway.

GURTAIN MATERIALS AND WINDOW-SHADES at Wholesaic.—Kritty & Fanguson, No. 291 Broaiway and No. 54 Reade-at, have a full and choice stock of Broastelles Bann Delaines, Worsted Damaske, Lace and Muslin Curtaics, Cornices, Gimps, &c., which are offered at the lowest prices, Window Shadks.—Our stock of Window Shades is the largest in New-York, and our superior manufacturing facilities enables us to offer there goods less than other houses. We invite the attention of close buyers.

LOOKING-GLASSES, PICTURE-FRAMES, ENGRAVINGS, ART MATERIALS, &c., TWENTY-FLYE FER CENT
BILOW THE CUSTOMARY PRICES See Advertisement under
DAY GOODS. WILLIAMS, STEVENS, WILLIAMS & CO.
NO. 331 Broadway.

LEARY & CO.'S NEW QUARTERLY PATTERN for GENTLIMEN'S Drive May, to this day issued, together with a large invoice of Pants Hars of late etyles, including the celebrated Cambridge Sort Har (a new waterprof article) in various celera, and for alle at our counters only. LERNY & Co. Leaders (7 Zanions for Uents' Har, 3, 4 and 5 Astor House.

Wigs!-Hair-Dye !!-Wigs!!!-Batchelor's Wite and TOURERS have imprevements pseudiar to their house. They are celebrated all over the world for their gree-cub leads, case and durability—fitting to a charm. The largest and best stock in the world. Twelve private rooms for applying the famous Dvs. Bold at Batcheloks, No. 253 Broadway.

MESSENGER'S LONDON CORDIAL GIN.

MESSENGER'S LONDON CORDIAL GIN.
REDUCTION OF THE DUTIES.
IMPORTANT TO WHOLESALE DEALERS.
The important modifications of the Tariff introduced by the results of Congress will go into effect in July next. The enormous duty hitherto imposed upon Messenger's London Condist. Gis will suffer so material a reduction that we shall be enabled to offer our celebrated distillation to heavy purchasers at prices sufficiently low to bring it within the reach of even those who, from motives of seconomy alone, have been content to use the inferior Holland Gius as substitute. Taxing into consideration, also, the difference in our favor between the British and American liquid measure, the subscitters are of opinion that it will now be in their power to import the finest London Condist. Gin at a cost but slightly exceeding that of the commonest Schappe used by the importrished peasanty of Holland and Germany, and disposed of in the United States as bevertage of rar efficacy. They have made an assignments, of Holland and Germany, and disposed of in the United States as heverage of rars thicay. They have made as assembles therefore, to that end, and flooking at the greatly increased consumption they will have a right to a ticipate with as article admitted to be a uneacoptionable in price and quality, they fedicitate the medves on the prospect of driving at once all wretched limitations of it from the American market, and of

tched initiations of it from the Australia from the ba-certing their pure and wholesome beverage from the ba-iteration so frequently practiced up in it.

R. E. Massenger's Landon Cordini (Hn." No. 58 Fulton st., New-York.

HEATH, WYNKOOP & Co.,

No. 63 Liberty-st., N. Y.,

MANUFACTURERS OF

PERFUMERY OF ALL KINDS,

kevite the attention of the trade to their varied and extensive
stock of new and desirable goods, which they offer at very low
prices. Our GATALOGUE for 1857 can be had on application or
by mail. Proprietors of Lyon's KATHAINON, &c.

MEDICINE WITHOUT PAY. I will present one box of my Magnetic Salve to any respectable patient who will call and receive it. For Salt Rheum, Sorofala, Burns and Chilblains. S. B. Smitz, Electro-Magnetist, No. 77 Canal-st., bet. Broadway and Church sta

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.—The cyoics of the Medical Schools are constrained to admit that HoLLOWAY'S PILLS banish disease from the stomach, liver and bowels, without reducing the strength of the patient. This is the greatest medical triumph of the nimeteenth century. Sold at the Manufactories, No. 86 Majden-lane, No. W Tork, and No. 244 Syrand, London; and by at Devestate at 28c., 62 je, and \$1 per bex.

CHICHESTER'S DYSPEDSIA SPECIFIC IS THE energy and quick-ning the circulation; does not act as a pura-tive; made from GARDEN VEGETABLES. The whole bottle taken at once would not it into you. One drop taken in a tea-spoonful of water cures Heartburn, creates appetite, and re-moved Constipation. Continuous from nundreds entirely cured at our Depot, No. 11 Wailest, New-York. Fifty cents per bot-tle. Kept also by all druggists.

COUNTERFEIT WISTAR'S BALSAM. -- We would caution the purchasers of the Balasam or White Cagany against an ionization article which might decodive the unwary his resemblance to the genuine bottle. Of the mixture we must not speak. Unprincipled secondrels can always be found ready for counterfeit as things by which they can put money in their pockets, as of they are sure to choose the most appular and well-known article on which to practice their villatines. It is a larm entable fact that there are also dealers in melactines who are willing to lend themselves to carry out this imposition, by welling such trash as genuine, because they can buy it for less than half the cost of the real article. Avoid such a man as you would a dealer in counterfeit mency, for he is the greater scamp of the two.

wo. They have never dared to forge the written signature of BUTTS, having a wholesome fear of the State Prison before betteyes. Be sure that you find on the outside wrapper the RITTER SHEARTER of L. BUTTS, and you may roly upon its whitten stenarths of I. Butts, and you may rely upon its being genuine. Buy none other. Sath W. Fowle & Co., Boston, Proprietors. Said every-where.

40 MURRAY STREET. STREAMS & MANYIS, late Rich & Co 's, improved Salaman RE SAFE, Wilder's Patent, secured by the celebrated La Rell Fowders room Lock, while a very small key, all made ader the immediate inspection of our Mr. Steams, who has for Ballie FowDarracov Lock, whin a vity small key, all made under the immediate imspection of our Mr. Searms, who has for 15 years superintended their n sandature, during which time not a dollar's worth of property has been command in one of them—222 having been tested in socidental fires. Warranted free from dampness.

Also, Burgiar-proof Chests of any size, lined with hardened steel, which cannot be dittled or housen.

For sale by STRANNA & MANNIN, No. 40 Murray at.

Factory cor. St. Mark', place and Av. A.

ONE DAY LATER FROM FRANCE. - The serew steam er Emen arrived yesterday in ming, bringing Paris journals of the 21st ult, one day later than our previour advices. The news is null the fellowing paragraph from the Constitutionnel containing the only

is fellisence worth quotieg?

"There is a great deal of talk concerning the Genn'es of London and Paris, which pay to their stockhold-ors a profit of 12 to 15 per cent per annum.

## New York Daily Tribure

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1857.

To Advertisers.

THE WEEKLY TRIBUNE will go to press early to merrow morning. Over 176,000 copies will be printed. A few more advertisements will be received if handed in early to-day. Price One Dollar a line.

Bloomfield Usher, Republican, is elected to our State Senate from the St. Lawrence District by about 3,000 majority. He takes the place of the Hon. Zenas Clark (Repub.), who lately resigned on account of ill health.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE held her Annual Election yesterday-a quiet one, with no extraord nary exertions or excessive vote. Our returns are meager, but they indicate the election as Governor of Wil. LIAM HAILE (Republican) and the reëlection to Congress of the able and faithful Delegation in the last House-Messers. JAMES PIKE, MASON W. TAPPAN and AARON H. CRAGIN. We presume the Legislature is also Republican.

A letter from Chicago in another column gives the exact particulars in relation to the Illinois Apportionment bill. According to this statement of the case, which is doubtless correct, there is no shedow of doubt resting on the case, nor the least ground for regarding the bill as having become a law.

We hope the suggestions of our Kansas corre spondent in relation to the Kansas State prisoners will not pass unbeeded. We trust instant and effectual measures will be taken to secure to each of them at least his hundred and sixty acres of land. If anything remains of the relief fund of last Winter, we are convinced that it could not be more properly appropriated or more to the satisfaction of the denote. If that money is all gone, more must be

The People of Kansas are about to be subjected to the severest ordeal of their eventful struggle. In order that its nature may be fully understood, we condense the leading features of the bill providing for a Constitutional Convention, just passed over Gov. Geary's veto by the Bogus Legislature: 1. A Census of the actual free male residents of the Territory

is to be taken during the current mouth-the census-takers be all designated by the Shering of the several counties, all ap-pointed by the Bogus Legislature, and all the most active and bitter Pro-Slavery men.

2. In case of any varancy in the office of Sheriff, the Judge of Probate (appointed in the same way and of the same stripe with the Sheriff) is to appoint the census-takers. In case with the Sheriff is to appoint the census-takers.

both the offices of Sheriff and Judge are vacant, (which can rarely or never occur), then the Governor may appoint
S. The official lists of qualified voters on the 1st of next
month are to be filed in the several Probate Judges' offices on

or before the 10th of said month.

4. The Probate Judges may, at their unlimited discretion

correct and enlarge these lists up to the let of May next.

6. These lists of voters to be printed and distributed. 7. The Governor and Secretary of the Territory to apportion for sixty members of the Constitutional Convention on the basis

of these lists of voters.

f. Constitutional Election on the third Monday in June 9. The County Commissioners (all Pro-Slavery zealors appointed by this Legislature) to designate the several places for holding the polls and appoint the three Judges of Election for

each poll.

10. These Judges to appoint the clerks, and with their aid hold the polls, make the returns, &c.

11. Every bona Ade white male inhabitant of Kansas, being a citizen, who shall have been such since the 15th of March, to be

voter at the Election aforesaid.

12. Census-takers and their assistants empowered to admin

13. Unlawful influencing of voters, by menaces or otherwise, to be punished by fine and imprisonment.

14. Illegal voting to be punished by fine and imprisonment.

Frand by Election officers, ditto.
 The Convention to meet at Lecompton on the first Monday in September, and then and there to frame a State Constitution.

Convention to be officered and paid like a Legislature.

18. All officers employed under this act to receiv day for their services.

19. Kansus is divided by the act into nineteen Election dis-

tricts-of course, in such manner as to give Slavery the utmos possible advantage.
26. All votes to be given rive roce (the Missouri mode), in

stead of by ballot.
21. The manner of making census returns is prescribed, but no prevision made for submitting the Constitution, whe

formed, to a rote of the People. -Such is in substance the act which Gov. Geary vetced, on the ground, first, of its neglect to provide for a submission to the People as aforesaid; secondly, on that of the immaturity and inadequate population and wealth of Kansas to support the responsibility and expense of a State Government. The Bogus Legislature, however, passed the act a second time over the Governor's head, so that it is now as much a law as any other of their acts.

What, then, shall the Free-State men of Kansas do with regard to this act?

If they submit to, and virtually recognize as valid this specimen of Border-Ruffian usurpation, they will of course be circumvented and beaten in Constitutional Election; and then our Doughfaces will say-" You staked the triumph " of Freedom or Slavery on the issue of that " Election-you have played and lost; and now

we insist that you shall abide by the decision.' But suppore the Free-State men ignore this, precisely as they have done all previous acts of the Border-Ruffian conventicle pretending to be a Kansas Legislature-a Pre-Slavery Constitution will of course be fraued and adopted without opposition. Now those same Job's comforters will say-" You might have made Kansas a Free State by only voting; but you sacrificed the cause of "Freedom to party spirit and a paltry pride in "consistency-and now we have no choice but to recognize and admit Kausas as a Slave

Which born of this dilemma is the worse ! Our present advice to our friends in Kaussa is to organize, wait and watch. Happily, no assent or action on their part is necessary to secure their enrollment on the new Registry Lists; and we trust care will be quietly taken to have the name of every Free-State man on the official lists. That done, let us see what sort of lists shall be made up and printed. Should these prove fair and honest-of which we cherish little hope-it will at least be the duty of the Free State men to hold a State Convention and determine what course they should and shall pursue in the ensuing Election. If a majority should vote to go into it, let every Free-State man feel bound to support and give effect to that decision. It the majority says "Stand clear!" let every Free-State man act accordingly. We fear that the dice are so leaded that a Pro-Stavery Constitution is to be ground out by fair means or foul; but that will not be cone usive. There will remain the appeal to Congress not to sanction and rat fy so degrant a fraud; and, this failing (which the course of the Democratic and most of the South "American" Members, with regard to the gigantic fraud and usurpation of March, 1855, renders far too probable), there will still remain the chance of besting them on the execution " Congress may admit Kansas as a Slave State; but her people will nevertheless be mainly Free-State men, and they transformation. Katha may be a Slave State at the outset, but she cannot long remain so. The influx of population from the best of the Free States is too preponderant and overwhelming; every month will render more and more difficult the retention of Slavery in Kaneas. Faith and Courage, Patience, Self-Denial and Sacrifice, are needed; yet Kansas must ultimately be Free.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the recent decision of the Supreme Court. The grounds and methods of that decision we have expesed elsewhere; and we now turn from them to contemplate the great fact which it establishes—the fact that Slavery is National; and that, until that remote period when different Judges, sitting in this same Court, shall, reverse this wicked and false judgment, the Constitution of the United States is nothing better than the bulwark of inhumanity and opplession.

It is most true that this decision is bad law; that it is based on false historical premises and wrong interpretations of the Constitution; that it does not at all represent the legal or judicial opinion of the Nation; that it is merely a Southern sophism clothed with the d guity of our highest Court. Nevertheless there it is, the final action of the National Judiciary, established by the founders of the Republic to interpret the Constitution, and to embody the ultimate legal conclusions of the whole people-an action proclaiming that in the view of the Constitution slaves are property. The inference is plain If slaves are recognized as property by the Constitution of course no lecal or State law can either prevent property being carried through an individual ate or Territory, or forbid its being held as such wherever its buner may choose to hold it. This is all involved in the present decision; but let a sirgle case draw from the Court an official judgment that slaves can be held and protested under National law, and we shall see men buying slaves for the New-York market. There will be no legat power to prevent it. At this moment, indeed, any wealthy New-York jobber connected with the Southern trade can put in his next orders: "Send me a negro cook, at the lowest market value Buy me a waiter! Ba'ance my account with two ctambermaids and a truckman!" Excepting the i terference of the Undergrourd Railroad and the chance of lose, there will be nothing to stop this. But then these underhanded efforts for stealing property must, of course, be checked by our Police. Mr. Ma'sell will have no more right to allow gentlemen's servants to be spirited away by burglarious Abolitionists than gentlemen's spoons. They are property under even stronger pledges of security than mere lifeless chattels. The whole power of the State-the military, the Courts and Governor of the State of New-York-wift necessarily be sworn to protect each New-York slave-owner from the robbery or burglary of his negro. If they are not sufficient, why then the United States Army and Navy can be called on to guard that singular species of property which alone of all property the Constitution of the United States has especially recognized. Slaves can be kept in Boston; Mr. Toombs can call the rell of his chattels on the slope of Bunker Hell: auctions of black men may be held in front of Faneuil Hall, and the slave-ship, protected by the guns of United States frigates, may land its dusky esrgo at Plymouth Rock. The free hills of Vermont, the lakes of Maine, the valleys of Connecticut, the city where the ancient Oak of Liberty has wisely fallen, may be traversed by he garge of the negro-driver, and enriched by the legitimate commerce of the slave-pen. Are we told that public opinion will prevent this? What can public epirion do against the Supreme Court and all the power of the United States? Shall not a citizen of this Union have the right to take and hold his property, his horses, his oxen, his dogs, his slaves, wherever it seems to him good? According to the law now established, the Free State men of Kapsas are robbers, for they attack the Constitutional and inalienable rights of property. The bogus laws of which they presume to complain, but which the mild and paternal punishment of death is now to protect from infraction, are just and necessary laws for the safety of those sacred rights. The number of Free Soil men in that Territory can make no difference hereafter, as it has made none hitherto. Slavery is there, as the ownership of horses or land is there, by supreme national law. Of what use, then, to contend for

mere. Another most pregnant change is wrought by this decision, in respect of the Northern people. We have been accustomed to regard Slavery as a local matter for which we were in no wise responsible. As we have been used to say, it belonged to the Southern States alone, and they must answer for it before the world. We can say this no more. Now. wherever the stars and stripes wave, they protect S'avery and represent Slavery. The black and cursed stain is thick on our hands also. From Maire to the Pacific, over all future conquests and attexations, wherever in the islands of western seas, or in the South American Continent or in the Mexican Guif, the flag of the Union, by just means or unjust, shall be planted, there it plants the curse, and tears, and blood, and unpaid toil of this "institution " The Star of Freedom and the stripes of bondage are henceforth one. American Republicanism and American Slavery are for the future synonymous. This, then, is the final fruit. In this all the labors of our statesmen, the blood of our berces, the life-long cares and toils of our forefathers, the aspirations of our scholars, the prayers of good men, have finally ended! America be alayebreeder and slaveholder

such a shadew as the difference between a Free and

a Slave Constitution? Or what sense in that old

fiction of State Rights? The States have no rights

as respects Freedom; their rights consist only in

establishing and strengthening Slavery-nothing

It would perhaps have been the part of wisdom the five claverelders who, by a piece ofusurpation in the arrangement of the Districts, have beer constituted a majority of the Supreme Court of the United States, had they been content to set it down as glory enough for one day to have kicked Dred Scott with his wife and two daughters out of their august and serene presence; especially, considering that this kicking was done on the express ground that Soutt and his family, being negroes, have, under the Constitution of the United States, " no ghts which white men are bound to respect."

But when this matter of kicking negroes is taken in hand, even the very gravest of our Southern brethren-church members, ductors of divinity, and even Judges on the bench -are apt to become a little excited so as somewhat to overstep the mark. Thus our five slaveholding Judges, exhibitarated and aroused by their agreeable and corgen al exercise upon the person of Dred Scott and apparently imagining themselves in the full and can, by energy and perseverance, soon work a free enjoyment of all the unrestricted felicities of their patriarchal homes, not satisfied with kicking him, proceed forthwith, under the impulse of the moment, to kick out, knock down, and break thirgs generally, in true slaveholder style. Not content to have kicked Dred Scott and family out of Court-belaboring them over the heads all the while with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and minding no more the breaking these instruments to pieces in the operation than Bu'ly Brooks did the breaking of his gutta-percha cane over Senator Sumner's head-excited and aroused by this exploit, our five slaveholders follow it up by kicking out of Court. with no less earnestness and good-will, the Ordinance of 1787, all the past legislation of Congress on the subject of the Territories, the Missouri Compromise, and the Free States generally.

This, certainly, is pretty well for one day's work. Dred Scott, wife and daughters, the Ordinance of 1787, the past legislation of Congress on the subject of the Territories, the Missouri Compromise and the Free States, all kicked in a heap pell-mell out of Court, the Declaration of Independence shivered in the operation, and the Constitution of the United States turned into a cowhide and a pair of bandcuffs, for future use in keeping insolent negrees in order !

But between the case of Dred Scott and family and the other victims of this slaveholding outbreak, a very important distinction is to be taken. In kicking Scott and family out of Court, the five slaveholding Judges acted in an official capacity. However base, inhuman and false, however derogatory to the framers of the Constitution (upon whise shoulders bese five judicial magnates attempt to shift off their own atrocious sentiments) the grounds on which this decision is placed-however destitute of all reason, or contrary to all reason, this decision may be-still, so far as the unfortunate Scott and family are concerned, it is decisive and final as to them. Scott and his family must henceforth consider themselves as forever kicked cut of all claims to "be ever thought of or spoken of, except as property." But with respect to the Ordinance of 1787, the past legislation of Congress on the subject of the Territories, the Missouri Compromise, and the Free States generally, the case is somewhat different. They were not before the Court. Scott and family having been kicked out, there was no case before the Court. The muck that followed their expulsion-the pitching of the five slaveholders into the Ordinance of 1787, the past legislation of Congress, the Missouri Compromise, and the Free States generallywas purely a free fight on their part, a procedure in which they carry no more weight than if, geiting high after adjournment in celebrating their victory over Dred Scott, they had sailied out on a spree, and, breaking into the Department of State, had attempted to destroy the legislative repords of the Government. Upon this point of the weight to be attached to these extra-judicial operations, Judge McLean, in his dissenting opinion, thus expressed

himself: "In this case, a majority of the Court have said that a slave may be taken by his master into a territory of the United States, the same as a horse or any other kind of property. It is true this was said by the Court, as also many other things, which are of no authority. Nothing that has been said by them, which has not a street heaven on the investigation of the Court against an direct bearing on the jurisdiction of the Court, against which they decided, can be considered as authority. I shall certainly not regard it as such. The question of jurisdiction, being before the Court, was decided by them authoritatively, but nothing beyond that ques-

Judge Curtis's dissenting opinion has not yet been published at length; but, from the abstract of it, he would seem to have been still more pointed and emphatic upon this point.

The subterfuge resorted to by the five slaveholders to get rid of the Ordinance of 1787, and of the prohibition of Slavery contained in the Missouri Compremise, would be ridiculous were the occasion less serious. In order to deprive Congress of any power to enact those two great prohibitions of Slavery, the five slaveholders argue with great pugnacity that the provision of the Constitution giving Congress power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territories relates to the Territories merely as property, and confers upon Congress no power whatever of jurisd ction or government. Not content with thus killing off Missouri Compromise, the five slaveholders in sist upon giving it another stab by maintaining further that even this limited power of treating territory as property-that is, of providing for its saleattacked only to that territory belonging to the United States when the Constitution was framed. Thus the Ordinance of 1787 and its confirmation by Congress is killed, and the Missouri Prohibition killed twice over. Bat, unfortunately for the well-working of this operation, the killing doesn't end there. Every act ever passed by Congress for the government of the Territories falls dead under the same blow, and the Kansas-Nebrasha act among the rest. According to this interpretation of the Constitution, there is no power in Conrees to govern the Territories at all, and, as to those acquired since the Constitution was framed, no power even to survey or sell the land. Pressed by these palpable consequences of their over-eageress to get rid of the Ordinance of 1787 and the Mesouri Prohibition, the five slaveholders suddenly scover that the right and even the mere fact of the acquisition of territory carries with it, constitutional provision or so constitutional provision, the right of necessity to make all needful rules and regplations for its government. Upon this point, the five slaveholders thus express themselves:

"The power to acquire territory until it is in a condition to become a State on an equal footing with the other States, must necessarily rest on sound discretion; and it becomes the cury of the Government to admin-ter the laws of the United States for the protection of recoal rights and property therein. I at some government be established to protect the to acquire carries with it the power to preserve. The form of government necessarily rests on the discretion of Congress. It is their duty to establish the best suited for the United States, and that must depend on the number of its inhabitants and the character and inuation of the Territory. What government is the best must depend on the condition of the Territory at the time, to be continued until it shall become a State." Such being the case, what need is there of any

disputation about the meaning and extent of the authority of Congress to make all needful rules and regulations for the Territories, since the power to govern those Territories, or cause them to be youerned, to the full extent ever contended for by any body, is conceded by the Court to appertain to Conareas as the inevitable consequence of their acquisition? If this new discovery of the inherent powers of Congress to govern the Territories is going to rehabilitate all the other legislation of Congress in relation to the Territories, why not the Ordi nance of 1787, and the Missouri Compromise among the rest? The only attempt of the five slaveholders to escape from this correquence is to be found in the following paragraph:

"But there can never be a mera discretionary power cover personant property. These are plainty defined by the Constitution. The Constitution provides that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establish-

ment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof: or abridging the freedom of speech or of the prese or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievance. Ac. Thus the rights of property are united with the personal rights, and this extends to the Territories as well as to the States. Congress cannot authorize he Territories to do what it cannot do itself; the present of the Territories power to violate the t cannot confer on the Territories power to violate the

provisions of the Constitution. When the five slaveholders shall first have pointed out the clause in the Constitution which prohibits Congress from making any law abolishing Slavery. or which refers to slaves as property, it will be quite time enough to relinquish as unconstitutional the Ordinance of '57 and the Missouri Prohibition. The public will hardly be satisfied with their assertion that the right of property in slaves " is ex-" pressly conferred in the Constitution and guaranteed to every State." The public will hardly admit that, unless the clause in which this right of property is conferred and this guarantee made is first pointed out. We have said that the five slaveholders, in their

gene al knock down and drag-out, have thrust their fists not merely into the face and eyes of Congress, but of the Free States as well. They have laid down the doctrine-which indeed becomes a neceseary foundation for holding that Congress has no right to prohibit Slavery in the Territories-that the Constitution of the United States recognizes slaves as property, and makes no difference whatever between them and horses, ozen or any other kind of property. From this they argue that any slaveholder has the same right to hold slaves in any Territory that he has to held borses and exen, and that he cannot be deprived of the right to hold slaves any more than of the right to hold horses and oxen. But, if this is true of the Territories, it is equally true of the States. No State Legislature has the power to deprive the citizen of another State of the right to bring his horses and oxen within its jurisdiction; and, baving brought them, from holding and using them there. If the Constitution of the United States recognizes slaves as property, not different in any respect from other property, then no State Legislature has any more right than Congress or the Territorial Legislatures to deprive the owner of such property of the enjoyment and full use of it. It is precisely on this ground that so many liquor laws have been declared unconstitutional. In laying down this dectrine, the five slaveholders have an nounced beforehand what judgment they mean to give in the Lemmon case. Slaves, they say, are by the Constitution of the United States property-not property merely in any limited sense of that term, not property in the States under whose laws they are held, but property absolutely and everywhere, just the same as sheep and oxen. Lemmon had the right to drive his sheep and oxen through New-York-why not his slaves! Let this doctrine be established as law, and Mr. Toombs will be at fu'l liberty to carry out the threat imputed to him of calling the roll of his slaves under the shadow of the Bunker Hill monument.

The speech of Mr. B. Gratz Brown of St. Louis in the Legislature of Missouri on the subject of emancipation in that State, has appeared at langth in the St. Louis papers, and fully answers the high expectations we were led to form of it. This speech, it will be remembered, was in opposition to resolution declaring emancipation in Missouri to be not only "impracticable," but any movement having that object in view to be "inexpedient, impolitic, unwise and ur just," and as such to be discountenanced by the people of that State.'

Brought forward as a peace-offering to the slaveholders on the part of the Sham-Democratic leaders in the Legislature, for having presumed to elect an avowed Emancipationist as one of the Directors of the State Bank of Missouri, the design was to have forced it through by a sort of surprise and without any debate. But though only one day's notice of its introduction was given, this project did not succeed. The resolution was ably opposed in both Houses, and we doubt if any length of time for preparation could have produced a more effective speech against it than that delivered

He begins with alluding to the origin of the reso lution, charging upon the leaders of the Pro-Slavery party the responsibility of commencing the agitation of this question of emancipation-a discussion which at the present moment of calm, after a three years' slavery agitation, he would not have been the first to introduce-but which, having been introduced, he is not to be frightened and deterred from a full and free discussion of. He disavows that "worship of whispers" with which so many are wont to approach this idol of the South, which worship, set up as a test and carried into everything, great and small, high and low, political, theological, social and moral, has silenced so many voices. While intending to say nothing to provoke anger, he yet means fully to speak out his honest convictions. The abolition of Slavery, as illustrated by the history of the States of the Union in which it has taken place, has been, according to his idea of it, not so much a triumph of human ty as a triumph of free labor, while the legislative acts on the subject have, instead of initiating the movement, only confirmed what was already done. Slavery in those States was practically abolished before it was prohibited by law. The same prorees, in his view, has already begun in Missouri. It is rather late in the day for the Legislature to declare that any movement for the emancipation of the slaves ought to be "discountenanced," when there is already in force and in full operation an act of gradual emancipation more potent than any which any Legis-ature could pass.

That the fact, startling as it may seem, is really o, Mr. Brown proceeds to argue from an analysis of the recent census of the State, compared with that of 1851. The ratio of slaves to freemen by the cersus of 1851, was as 87,623 to 574,118, or as one to six and three quarters. By the ceasus of 1856, while the slaves have increased 12,492, the free have increased 205 703. Thus the proportionate increase of slaves to that of free persons has been only as one to sixteen, showing a great preporderance of increase on the part of the free.

As to the increase of 12,492 in the slave population of the State, no less than 10,230 of that increase has taken place in twelve counties, lying chiefly in the central and fertile beit of territory bordering the Missouri River, and containing nearly balf the entire slave population, though less than asix h part of the free population of the State. These twelve counties, which in 1851 had 32 414 s'aves to 108,559 (ree, have, by the new census, 42.644 slaves to 127,763 free. The slaves have in creased 10,230, and the free only 21,404. In these ounties the slave population is gaining on the free, a strong proof, in addition to others to be hereafter cited, of the incompatibility between free and slave. labor. In two of these counties, which by a strange discrepancy-not noted, however, by Mr. Brownbear the names of Howard and Lafajette, the in crease of slaves considerably exceeds the increase

of the free. In these twelve counties only, out of the hundred and seven into which the State is divided. and embracing, whether as regards extent or population, but a small portion of the State, can Slavery be considered as having a firm footbold In twenty-five counties there has been an actual decrease of slaves since 1851 to the extent of mare. than a fifth of the whole number. In 1851 these twenty five counties, containing 222,633 freemen, had 21,526 slaves. In 1856 they had but 17,084 slaves, a decrease of 4,442, while, at the same time, their white popu'ation had risen to 293,490, an increase of 75,797—the ratio of slaves to freemen having decreased in these five years from one in ten to ore in thirteen. And what gives more significance to the fact is, that these counties are the very same into which the current of white non-slaveholding immigration has been chiefly directed. These are far from being the most fertile count es of the State. Those were prececupied by the s'aveholders. While the exuberant bottom lands of the Missouri are cultivated by slaves, free immigrants from Germany have established themselves on the broken cliffs of the Gasconade, and the sterile hills of the Maramec. Where slaveholders have rarely found it desirable to settle, and of en difficult to subsist, there co'onies of industrious free laborers have built up flourishing villages, and extended long lines of settlement. It is in these counties chiefly that the labor ing white man has come in contact with the laboring slave, and amid the excitement of a wild Stavery furor which, within the past five years, has swept over the State, putting all who dared to deny the divinity of the institution of Slavery in jeopardy of their lives, its usages and institutions have yet been compelled to give way before the access of free laborers.

An analogous state of things is to be observed in the counties along the Iowa frontier. In these ten counties there has been indeed, in the five years from 1851 to 1856, a slight increase in the number of slaves, but the total number is so small, compared with the white population, as to render this increase of no account. The census of 1851 gave for these ten counties 633 slaves to 25,564 free. The census of 1856 gives 871 slaves to 57,255 free. The slaves have increased 238, the free 31,691; thus raising the proportion of free to slaves to ninety-three freemen to one slave. Nor are these the only counties in this position. Twenty-two counties, with an aggregate free population of 94,685, have within their limits only 1,017 slaves. It is abourd, in Mr. Brown's view, to speak of the system of Slavery as obtaining in these counties. Slavery, as a system, has been excluded from them by settlement and immigration. It lingers only as an exception, and the few who remain as slaves are held rather as articles of family pride or relics of family inheritance than for any value put upon their services.

The twelve counties above referred to may be set down as an exception; but in the other ninety five counties the gradual abolition of Slavery must be considered as already in successful operation. Hemp is the only Missouri staple that yields returns adequate to justify an investment in slave labor, and many of the slaveholders are already on the move for Texas, thus contributing to the triumph of free labor. Mr. Brown then proceeds to point out the bene-

fits which would accrue from emarcipation to the industrial interests of the State. While wishing no ill to the thirty thousand slaveholding land-owners, his sympathies, he confesses, are with the seven hundred and seventy thousand non-slaveholders, of whom many also are landbolders. From a comparison between the increase of internal improvemente and population in the Free and in the S'ave States, he concludes that the abolition of Slavery would lead at once to an appreciation in the value of the lands of Missouri greater in amount than the entire value of the existing slave property. The in pulse it would give to commerce would be still greater. The position at present occupied by Missouri is such that the Nor.h and the South alike give her the cold shoulder. The Pro Slavery sentiment existing in the State, and the danger to property and free transport thence arising, so strik ngly evinced in the late Kansss outrages, drive Northera commerce and emigra ion to seek more northera routes, while the very Southern interests which claim to hold Missouri in their grasp interpose to d vert to a more southern route the railroad across the continent, in the starting of which from her borders Missouri has so deep an interest. In connection with this subject, he refers to the late Kansas outrages in the following pointed terms:

"So lorg as Slavery obtains as a system in our com-munity, so lorg, it would seem, if we are to judge from past experience. Slavery againstors will continue to dis-turb all the relations of society, and to none does it over cause a greater shock than to those exchanges that may well be styled the nerves of commerce. We have seen well be styled the nerves of commerce. We have seen turb all the relations of society, and to none does it over cause a greater shock than to those exchanges that may well be styled the nerves of commerce. We have seen something of this curselves during the part year. We have witnessed a Kanras foray originating in a political agitation of the Slavery queetion, shaping itself into an armed incursion into a neighboring T-ritery, and eventuating in the blockade of that great navigable stream which roms through the heart of our Stats, in the stoppage of travel and transportation, and in the diversion of trade, that of right belongs to us, into Northern and Southern routes. It may be intimated that one set alone of violence upon the Missouri River liquired us to the omount of more than \$150,000 in the shape of the discouragement of transit by Kansas emigrants through our State. It certainly diverted more than ten thousand people from the accustomed routes upon yonder waters, and forced them to neek other and devious ways to reach thair destination. That is but a single item of the lejuy inflicted, but it is a telling frem, and one that speaks volumes upon this subject of agitation. We have seen, also, the demoralization which has been so frequently produced by it upon society at large, and which after sundering all business relations, has substituted plunder for purchase. Who does not recall, during the late Kansas war, the utter suspension of business relations which prevailed in counties contigences to the line. There the ties which bound morehant to merehant were suddenly snapped asunder, and the censequence was that all trade languished—thops and stores closed their doors and par up the sign, "To let —flourishing towns serrowed over described whereve, and a settled aspect of stagmarion bung over all the vector half of Missour. And has not all the something to do with the question before us? Such as its and the censed where the first ments in the political canvas of August text, it be comes a pertinent question to cunider how much of their jury lately indicated u vars of August rext, it becomes a pertinent question to consider how much of their jury lately indicated upon trade and commerce, would be avoided in the future trade and commerce, would be avoid by an act of gracual emancipation."

Such is a slight sk-teh of some of the principal points made in this speech, fon which we give copi us extracts in another part of our paper.

The reference in one of these extracts to the attendant evils of Slavery in a moral point, and a "eccasional abuses"-s subject at which the speech but just glanges-if very brief is also very s guificent.

We have already alluded to the Address of the Know Nothing State Council, in which that angust body in its corporate capacity pathetically profests scainst the extension of Slavery, and likewise b -labors the Democratic party for its subserviency to ratu a ized citizene. As a general rule we never p ace any dependence upon the sincerity of Know-Nothing professions, and all our experience estistee us that distrust in such cases is always safest Tuese implacable exemise of Democracy—these ardeal